

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 805 respondents
Dates: November 19, 1995

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4064
NBC News/WSJ
November 1995

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[6]	[8]	[9]	[12]	[13]
[7]		[10]		[14]
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November 1995

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15]
	9	1
Not registered.....	2	
	1	
Not sure.....	-	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?¹

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	<u>4/3-4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Right direction...	25	26	27	27	27	33	32	32	40	34	[16]
Wrong track.....	57	54	50	51	51	45	50	47	42	47	
Mixed (VOL).....	12	15	17	16	15	15	12	13	12	13	
Not sure.....	6	5	6	6	7	7	6	8	6	6	

	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>	
	+	4	4							
	37	27	28	32	35	27	47	15	34	
	42	55	57	50	42	56	27	71	48	
	12	14	11	12	16	10	14	9	13	
	9	4	4	6	7	7	12	5	5	

3. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president? **[17]**

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	<u>4/3-4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>11/4-5/94</u>	<u>10/9</u>
						5					+	+	4
Approve.....	49	46	46	47	46	50	46	44	45	48	43	44	48
Disapprove...	42	43	43	44	42	39	44	45	43	44	48	44	43
Not sure.....	9	11	11	9	12	11	10	11	12	8	9	12	9

	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>
	44	49	52	57	56	50	45	41	52	57	51
	48	44	39	37	33	39	45	50	34	26	16

8 7 9 6 11 11 10 9 14 17 33

4. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Newt Gingrich is doing as speaker of the House of Representatives?

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	
Approve.....	27	35	39	45	40	37	32	[18]
Disapprove.....	60	46	35	36	41	43	26	1
Not sure.....	13	19	26	19	19	20	42	

- 5a. From what you know, do you agree or disagree with most of what the Republicans in Congress are proposing to do?

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Agree.....	36	35	32	41	46	45	49	41	[19]
Disagree.....	49	45	45	39	39	35	22	28	
Both/mixed (VOL).....	8	9	13	10	8	10	9	6	
Not sure.....	7	11	10	10	7	10	20	25	

- 5b. Which concerns you more-- that the Republicans in Congress will be prevented from making the kinds of changes they are proposing, or that the Republicans in Congress will go too far and make changes that are bad for the country?

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/94</u>	
Will be prevented from making change	29	26	33	[20]
Will go too far.....	62	64	60	
Neither (VOL).....	3	3	2	
Not sure.....	6	7	5	

- 6a. How closely are you following the current debate between Congress and the President over the national budget and the shutdown of the federal government -- extremely closely, quite closely, somewhat closely, or not that closely?

Extremely closely.....	2	[21]
	2	
Quite closely.....	2	
	5	
Somewhat closely.....	3	
	8	
Not that closely.....	1	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	

- 6b. Here are some possible goals Congress could have in passing the budget. Please tell me which one you think is the most important goal for the budget.

	<u>11/95</u> First Mention	Combined First and Second Mentions	<u>9/95</u> +	<u>6/95</u> +	
Balancing the budget by the year 2002.....	19	30	18	22	[22-23]
Making sure the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.....	12	24	28	32	>
Reducing government spending.....	20	36	24	29	
Protecting Medicare and Social Security.....	23	43	34	39	
Lowering taxes on the middle class.....	6	18	20	13	
Improving education.....	13	33	35	30	
None of them (VOL).....	-	1	-	-	
All of them (VOL).....	6	-	6	5	
Not sure.....	1	2	-	-	
None/All/Not Sure (Q.6b).....		7	NA	NA	

+ Comparative data reflects first and second choices combined.

- 6c. And which of these budget goals is the second most important **(READ ITEMS, EXCEPT THE ONE CHOSEN IN Q.6b. RECORD ABOVE UNDER Q.6c.)**

- 6d. Which of these two budget plans would you prefer -- a plan that balances the budget in seven years, even if that means larger spending reductions in Medicare and other programs; or a plan that makes smaller reductions in Medicare and other programs, even if that means it takes nine years to balance the budget?

Balance budget in seven years/larger reductions.....	2	[24]
Smaller reductions/nine years to balance.....	4]
	7	
	1	
Not sure.....	5	

- 7a. From what you know, do you agree more with Bill Clinton and the Democrats **OR** more with the Republicans in Congress on the issue of the federal budget?

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	<u>9/95</u>	<u>7/95</u>	<u>6/95</u>	
Clinton and Democrats	49	44	38	38	38	[25]
Republicans in Congress.....	37	39	41	44	41	
Both equal (VOL).....	4	4	5	4	4	
Not sure.....	10	13	16	14	17	

- 7b. Republicans in Congress are in the process of passing a federal budget that they say will balance the budget in seven years and reduce taxes for most families. President Clinton says he will veto this budget because he believes it cuts too much from certain domestic programs and gives tax breaks mostly to the wealthy. In your view, should the President sign or veto this budget?

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	
Sign budget.....	36	32	[26]
Veto budget.....	56	61	
Not sure.....	8	7	

- 8a. As you know, President Clinton and the Republican Congress have not reached a budget agreement, and this has led to a shutdown of the federal government. Who do you think is more to blame for this shutdown -- President Clinton or the Republican Congress?

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	
		+	
President Clinton	27	32	[27]
Republican Congress.....	47	43	
Both equal (VOL).....	20	18	
Not sure.....	6	7	

- 8b. In your view, how serious a problem is this shutdown of the federal government -- extremely serious, quite serious, just somewhat serious, or not that serious?

Extremely serious.....	2	[28]
	9	
Quite serious.....	2	
	8	
Just somewhat serious.....	2	
	3	
Not that serious.....	1	
	8	
Not sure.....	2	

- 8c. Have you or anyone in your family been affected by the federal government shutdown, in terms of employment, services, or benefits?

Yes, have been affected.....	1	[29]
	8	
No, have not been affected.....	8	
	1	
Not sure.....	1	

- 9a. Do you think **(READ ITEM.)** is working hard to solve the budget disagreement quickly, or is dragging it out for political reasons?

	<u>Working Hard To Solve</u>	<u>Draggin g It Out</u>	<u>Neith er (VOL)</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
The Republican Congress.....	27	63	2	8	[30]
Bill Clinton.....	35	54	2	9	[31]

- 9b. Which of these is closer to your own view of President Clinton's actions and positions during the current budget disagreement? **(READ ITEMS.)**

A) He is being a strong leader and standing up for what he believes in.....	4	[32]
	9	
B) He is putting his own political agenda ahead of what's good for the country.....	4	
	3	
Both equal (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	4	

- 9c. Which of these is closer to your own view of House Speaker Newt Gingrich's actions and positions during the current budget disagreement? *

A) He is being a strong leader and standing up for what he believes in.....	3	[33]
B) He is putting his own political agenda ahead of what's good for the country.....	6	
Both equal (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	5	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 9d. Which of these is closer to your own view of Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole's actions and positions during the current budget disagreement? *

A) He is being a strong leader and standing up for what he believes in.....	3	[34]
B) He is putting his own political agenda ahead of what's good for the country.....	5	
Both equal (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 10a. Which do you think is President Clinton's main reason for opposing the Republicans' budget proposals -- because he believes they go too far in cutting Medicare and education, or because he is opposed to balancing the federal budget? *

Believes they go too far.....	7	[35]
Opposed to balancing the budget.....	2	
Both (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	7	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

- 10b. Which do you think is congressional Republicans' main reason for their budget proposals -- to achieve a balanced federal budget, or to cut back social programs and pay for tax cuts? *

Achieve balanced budget.....	3	[36]
Cut back programs and pay for tax cuts.....	4	
Both (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	8	

* Asked of one-half the respondents.

11a. Which of these is closer to your own view of the budget disagreement?

A) Congress and the President are divided over important policy differences, and should fight for what they believe in.

B) Congress and the President are each trying to gain partisan advantage, and should put politics aside to reach an agreement.

Divided over policy/fight for what they believe..	2	[37]
	3	
Gain partisan advantage/put politics aside.....	7	
	1	
Both (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	4	

11b. Which one of the following do you think is the best way to reach a budget agreement? **(READ ITEMS.)**

	<u>11/95</u>	<u>10/95</u>	
Republicans in Congress should compromise more and move toward President Clinton's position.....	16	18	[38]
Republicans in Congress and President Clinton should compromise equally.....	64	60	
President Clinton should compromise more and move toward the position of Republicans in Congress.....	17	18	
Not sure.....	3	4	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1	{202}
	6	
Not very strong Democrat.....	1	
	3	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	1	
	1	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	7	
Independent/lean Republican.....	7	
Not very strong Republican.....	1	
	3	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	4	
Other.....	6	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	2	

F1b. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	6	{201}
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	7	
Moderate.....	2	
	8	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	4	
Very conservative.....	9	
Views cannot be described in those	1	
terms.....	3	
Not sure.....	3	

F2. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	2	{203}
Some high school.....	5	
High school graduate.....	3	
	1	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	9	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	1	
	9	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's degree.....	9	
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	2	
Not sure.....	1	

F3. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	1	45-49.....	9	{204}
	1			}
25-29.....	9	50-54.....	9	
30-34.....	1	55-59.....	5	
	2			
35-39.....	1	60-64.....	4	
	3			
40-44.....	1	65 and over.....	17	
	0			
		Refused.....	1	

F4. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	{214}
Black.....	10	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	2	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	2	

F5. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	1	{216}
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	2	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	3	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	4	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	5	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	6	
More than \$75,000.....	7	
Not sure/refused.....	8	

F6. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	1	{217}
Object--do not call.....	2	